

/114 cont. /

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264 /). Sometimes 342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a 361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the [162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller. 484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be- 361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours [487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
● 3/2 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk. [5/4] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

59/ In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother, [594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go [842] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help [476] them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of 000

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3/1 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
 [37] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
 [233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
 C cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
 3/1 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
 3/2 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
 134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
 C deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
 [361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
 P so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
 3/1 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
 134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
 3/2 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
 361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
 P every spot on the landscape.

241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
 461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
 476 willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
 P simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
 134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
 241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
 [135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
 P loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
 241 valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
 P abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
 [312] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain
 brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running
 water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or
 terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manu-
 facture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of
 agriculture; and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate
 sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated
 areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

In his opinion, one cannot
/261 cont./

756 learn how to become a shaman; rather, this is a hereditary gift.

[827] He himself has no son and no pupils.

The tepits Francisco Cuskue is about 40 years old, married, and has four daughters and one son. Two children died. He has neither /262/ cows nor pigs, horses or sheep, and is very poor. He learned from childhood on, for his father and grandfather were also shamans. He wants his son to become a shaman, too. The latter, about ten years old, has not yet begun the apprenticeship, [123] however. In reply to my question as to whether I, too, as a stranger, might become a shaman, he asserted that this would be possible, but said that the training is very long and difficult. One has to learn from childhood on, until one is about 25 or 30 years old. I, in my case, am already too old to begin.

The tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Ill. 153 /see p. 267/), who lives near the shaman Francisco, is the son of a shaman, was taught by his father, and had the "signs" when he was only ten years old. He is now, as an estimate, 55 years old (no Paez knows how old he is) and had ten children, six of whom died. In the way of possessions he has neither horse nor cow nor sheep. Whereas 756 all Paez divert the mountain brooks so that a small ditch flows 312 past their houses and they always use only flowing water, the shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón have a small joint reservoir below a spring, from which they drink and into which, before drinking, they place one of their medicinal herbs, šū. When questioned, both stated that they did not do this for any special reason and could not find out about anything in the reservoir, neither sickness nor the future.

754 Just as the good shaman was chosen by a vision, this also ap-
787 plies for the evil sorcerer. It is regarded as an omen that he is to become a nyic if, for example, in a dream he sees a bird that in its beak holds a donkey, into whose open mouth flies are crawling, or simply if he dreams about pigs. The prospective 754 nyic may have his vision during the day or at night; it is said that people who are abroad a great deal during the night are the most susceptible to evil sorcery, since at this time they have the

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600 with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of
342 extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of
bahareque.

342 The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread
177 and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements,
is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20
meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors
and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the
space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room in-
tended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and
pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compart-
[841]ment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as
[343] a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

[513] In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque,
[352] sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed
walls.

361 The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of
342 dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a
[312] beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures
[796] and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the
[346] houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although
they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the
fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of
mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving

346 aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25
796 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank
door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fluhne wala, is 13
meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (úkukuat),
the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil,
crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of
which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners;
the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of
people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these
spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's
assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks
sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

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346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the duyate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill, [262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in [273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by [276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

534 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
533 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give me your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work."

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frioles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient,
[244] but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that
want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of
the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They
utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José,
where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds
under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain
hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from
the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent
quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during
a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed
for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

● 3/2 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result,
water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This
geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to
their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are
true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or
the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[777] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has
been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the
high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

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- 312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdalejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [462] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of
256 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal
land.